1: Berque--4 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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B) Sigla

a.	aît /a Berber word that frequently precedes the name of a tribe: see p.584 , n. 1/	I.A.A. ...	Institut Agricole d'Algérie /Agricultural Institute of Algeria/
ar.	Arabic	I.	Idaw
arch. ..	archives	Im.	Imintanout
art. ...	article	in.	inédit /unpublished/
b.	ibn	R.	Revue /Review/
B. N. ..	Bibliothèque Nationale	t.	tome
chl. ...	Chleuh /Shluh/	tr.	translation
c. r. ..	compte rendu /report/	Ud.	Awlâd
éd.	edition	vol.	volume

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C) Abbreviations

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113

They refer to the following collections and periodicals:

Afr. fr., "l'Afrique française" (1891...), Paris.

A. M. or Arch. mar., "Archives marocaines," Paris (1904-1936), then Rabat.

Ann. géo., "Annales de géographie" (1891...), Paris.

Ann. hist. soc., "Annales d'histoire économique et sociale" (1930-1939), then "Annales d'histoire sociale" (1939-41 and 1945), "Mélanges d'histoire sociale" (1942-1944), becoming in 1946 "Annales (économies-sociétés-civilisations)," this latter series sometimes being specified "Ann. E. S. C.," Paris.

Ann. soc., "L'Année sociologique" (1st series 1923-1924, 2nd series 1939-1940, "Annales sociologiques," 3rd series 1948-1949), Paris.

Bull. E. P. M., "Bulletin de l'enseignement public du Maroc," Rabat.

CHEAM, "Documentation du Centre de Hautes Études d'administration musulmane," Paris.

Hesp., "Hesperis," Berbère /Berber/ archives and bulletin of the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines (T. I: 1924...), Paris.

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R. afr., "Revue africaine" (T. I: 1856), Algiers.

R. al., "Revue algérienne, tunisienne et marocaine de législation et de jurisprudence" (1886...) (a continuation of "Revue algérienne et tunisienne de législation et de jurisprudence," 1885), Algiers.

Rens. col., "Renseignements coloniaux," appendix to the bulletin of l'Afrique française, Paris.

R. E. I., "Revue des Études islamiques" (T. I: 1927), Paris.

R. J. C., "Revue des jurisprudence coutumière," unpublished periodical of the management of Affaires chérifiennes, Rabat.

Sour. in., "Collection des sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc /Collection of unpublished sources on the history of Morocco/," Paris (followed by initials and figures indicating the series and the country being considered).

/27 cont./

241 torrent: ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their asif.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

/28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant 181 briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudge the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/

III. Concerning the Men

The House (1)

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1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 4 sq., Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in Villages et kasbahs berbères /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lepinay, Le

/29 cont./

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[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

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[161]

Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

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[132]

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

/92 cont./

First French Knowledge

114
113 Here we shall not insist on the political sociology of the modern epoch (1).

1. On the political sociology of the modern epoch, the principal work is that of R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 276 sq., 306 sq., 310 sq. Numerous unpublished or published monographs by the same author: notably, on the Seksawa or the tribes that surround them, art. already cited on the Aghbar, unpublished not. on the Mez'ud'a, Idaw T'anan, Gedmiwa. Remaining unpublished, the valuable monograph by Lieut. F. de La Chapelle, on Les tribus du Grand Atlas du Mtouggui /The tribes of the Great Atlas of the Mtouggui/ (1926), both an "exploration" and an attempt at scientific systematization. The same author has published: "Un grand caïdat du S. marocain /A great caidate of the Moroccan South/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1927, pp. 372 sq.; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut Atlas occidental /The formation of monarchical power in the Berber tribes of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1928, pp. 263 sq.; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "Les tribus de haute montagne de l'Atlas occidental /The high-mountain tribes of the western Atlas/," R.E.I., 1928, pp. 339 sq. Unpublished not. by Lieut. Labonne, Notice sur le caïd Abdelmalek Mtouggui /Note on the caid Abdelmalek Mtouggui/, 1913; id., Note sur les Ait Had ou Yous /Note on the Ait Had ou Yous/, 1915; Lieut. Dupas, Les Seksawa /The Seksawa/, 1929 (end of La Chapelle's investigation).

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it
121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered
721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream.
[701] At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)

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[113]

1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/93 cont./

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[121]
[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

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1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

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But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

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/96 cont./

174 refractory ones of the great Moroccan history. Somehow or other it recombined them in the permanence of a name. It set against the decadence and the investment a flood of vitality drawn from the South of the Atlas.

The oldest chronicle, the local tradition, and recent observation are thus in agreement. All postulate, around a very small country, dimensions more largely Maghrebi. Everything leads one to recognize the work of the times in a system to which one might quite wrongly lend the immutability of its montagnard decor.

/97/ Second Part

Exchanges Between the Group and the Natural Milieu

/Page 98 is blank./

182 /99/ I. Organization of the Seksawa Space

Readable in the landscape (1),

• 113 114

1. At the opening of this chapter, I call upon the considerations of Vidal de Lablache on "L'homme, facteur géographique /Man, geographical factor/," Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 12; another great book, that of L. Febvre on La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922. I must also cite the intuitive comments of J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 129 sq., as well as the article by G. Friedmann on "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, pp. 103 sq. Finally, my debt is large in regard to F. Braudel and the elegant and full pages that he devotes to the Mediterranean

/99 cont./

113 114 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/, 1949, pp. 5 sq.

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist, who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

619 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

1: Berque--629 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Bibliography

128 This study is based above all upon direct investigation, visits, judicial practice, research into local traditions and local archives. It has attempted, as often as possible, to compare the Seksawa
128 facts with other facts from the Maghreb. But it would deform its
113 character to widen to such a domain a systematic bibliography. The latter should be reduced to sources where it is directly a question of the country and of the people. It has thus eliminated, in spite of all that we owe them, a certain number of general works. For analogous reasons, finally, it disregards sources that are not contemporaneous or bear on a distant past; we have utilized them in an article on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 359-417, to which one can go back for references.

I. -- Cartography

(114) The reconnaissance map at 1/100,000 is summary, and its toponymy defective. In 1950, however, the "aerial covering" of the region was carried out by the Institut géographique national at a scale of approximately 1/40,000. In addition, one has available the works of:

113 J. Dresch, "Croquis orographique du grand Atlas occidental /Orographic outline of the great western Atlas/," at 1/100,000, and "Croquis structural," at 1/200,000, in Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central Du grand Atlas /Documents on the ways of mountain life in the Central Massif of the great Atlas/, Tours, Arrault and Cie., 1941, 2 vol., in-4°, 40 p., 12 mpas. publ. by the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, t. XXXV.

II. -- The Physical Milieu

J. Célérier, "La montagne au Maroc, essai de définition et de classification /The mountains in Morocco, attempt at

1: Berque--630 . Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/453 cont./

• 113

definition and classification/," Hesp., 2nd-3rd tr. 1938, pp. 109-180, 17 pl.

J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le Massif Central du grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous /Research on the evolution of the relief in the Central Massif of the great Atlas, in-4°, xis-708 p., 40 inset pl. Essential on the physical bases of this society.

L. Emberger, "La végétation du massif des Seksawa," Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des sciences, t. CXCVIII, 1934, pp. 968-970.

Id., Les arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaitre /The trees of Morocco and how to recognize them/, Larose, Paris, 1938, pet. in-12, 317 p.

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III. -- Exploration

There is scarcely anything to be drawn, for our purpose, from the travels of Quedenfeldt (1881), Division et répartition de la Population berbère au Maroc, trans. by H. Simon, gr. in-8°, 223 p. + 1 map, Algiers, Jourdan, 1904; of Larras (1900); of L. Gentil (1904); of J. Felze and Th-J. Delaye (about 1923), Au Maroc inconnu /In unknown Morocco/, 1935, Grenoble, Arthaud, gr. in-8°, 185 p. ill., 1 pl. in color as frontispiece. The first detailed description of the Seksawa is the one by A. Brives, "Au Seksawa /on the Seksawa/," Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord, 1905, pp. 48-52, and above all: id., Voyages au Maroc, Algiers, Jourdan, 1907, in-4°, x-612 p., 274 photos, maps, plates and album. Stay of 1901, goes up the valley.

Among the monographs of the penetration, all unpublished, let us mention especially:

F. de La Chapelle, "Note sommaire sur les tribus du Grand Atlas et du Dir du Mtouggui /Summary note on the tribes of the

/454 cont./

113 Great Atlas and of the Dir of the Mtouggui/. Arch. in. Im., 1926.

Id., "Le grand Atlas du Mtouggui," fasc. I and II (III[e] Partie), Arch. in. Im., 1926. Not only practical inventory, but scientific investigation of great value.

Dupas, "Seksawa," Arch. in. Im. 1929. Useful for the upper cantons, which the preceding was not able to know directly.

IV. -- Ways of Life, Economy

R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les Haut vallées du grand Atlas," Hesp., 1927, t. VII, 1st tr., 5 p., 1 inset map, pp. 1-32.

J. Célérier, "L'Atlas et la circulation au Maroc," Hesp., 4th tr., 1927, pp. 447-498, 2 maps.

J. Dresch, Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central du grand Atlas, Tours, Arrault and et Cie., 1941, already cited, commentaries, and agricultural maps, maps of the exchanges and displacements of the herds, at 1/200,000. Useful tentative synthesis.

J. Berque, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/," Bulletin de l'Association de géographes français, Nos. 210-211, May-June, 1950, pp. 116-119.

Id., "Terroirs et seigneurs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Grounds and lords of the western High Atlas/," Ann. E. S. C., No. 4 and Dec., 1951, pp. 474-484.

Id., "Un glossaire notarial arabo-Chleuh du XVIII[e] s. /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary of the eighteenth century/," R. afr., Nos. 422-423, 1st and 2nd tr. 1950, 1 map, 1 inset pl., pp. 357-398.

Id., "Notes sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas," Ann. E. S. C., 1953, 1 map, pp. 289-314.

1: Berque--632 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/454 cont./

113 L. Robine, "La transhumance dans les tribus d'Imintanout," Arch. in. Im., 1950.

/455/ V. -- The Group and the Individual

a) Morphology

R. Montagne, Villages et Kasbahs berbères, Paris, Alcan, 1930, in-8°, ix + 22 p., 80 pl., and 1 inset map.

J. Dresch, Map of the density of the population and commentaries in op. laud.

J. Berque, "Notes sur la démographie des tribus d'Imintanout," Arch. in. Im., 1953.

b) Institutions

R. Montagne, "Le Régime juridique des tribus du Sud marocain," Hesp., 1924, t. IV, 3rd tr., pp. 313-331.

R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, Paris, Alcan, 1930, in-4°, xvi + 426 p., 8 inset maps. A great book of Maghrebi sociology.

G. Surdon, Institutions et coutumes des berbères du Maghreb, Tangier, "Les éditions internationales," 1938, in-8°, xxi + 502 p., 1 folded map.

Anonymous, "Le mariage dans les tribus de coutume de l'annexe d'Imintanout /Marriage in the custom tribes of the annex of Imintanout/," Arch. in. Im., no date.

Hubschwerlin, "Le droit de représentation, succession des petits enfants /The law of representation, succession of little children/," Arch. in. Im., 1932.

Id., "Etudes des successions en pays Seksawa /Studies of successions in Seksawa country/," Arch. in. Im., 1932.

1: Berque--633 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/455 cont./

113 Miollan, "La composition en pays de coutume berbère /Composition in country with Berber customs/," Arch. in. Im., 1928.

Dupas, "Les Igoudar Seksawa et Ida ou Mahmoud /The Seksawa Igoudar and Ida ou Mahmoud/," Arch. in. Im., 1929.

J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /Sources of the customary law in the Sous/, Agadir, Imprimerie du Sous, 1942, in-12, 95 p.

Id., "Le règlement de la dya /The settlement of the dya/," Arch. in. Im., 1950.

J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., Nos. 416-417, 1st and 2nd tr., 1948, pp. 363-402.

Id., "Le droit du Sous /The law of the Sous/," Bulletin des études arabes, 1949, No. 41, Jan.-Feb., pp. 8-11.

Id., "Loi et coutume dans l'ancien droit familial du Sous /Law and custom in the ancient familial rights of the Sous/," Arch. in. Im., 1949.

Id., "Quelques documents sur le droit repressif ancien du Haut-Atlas /Some documents on the ancient repressive law of the High Atlas/," R. alg., Nos. 1-2, Jan.-April, 1953, pp. 1-8.

c) Comportments

Beyond the archives of the penetration and, on a general plane, Les Berbères et le Makhzen, by R. Montagne, we have used:

F. de La Chapelle, "Un grand Caïdat du Sud marocain /A great Caïdate of the Moroccan South/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1927 No. 10, pp. 373-386.

/456/

Id., "Les tribus de montagne du Haut-Atlas occidental," R. E. I., 1938, cahier III, pp. 339-360.

1: Berque--634 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/456 cont./

113 Id., "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas occidental /The formation of monarchic power in the Berber tribes of the western High Atlas/." Hesp., t. VIII, 3rd and 4th tr., 1928, 3 maps, 5 fig., pp. 263-283.

Naissance du prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, collective inquiry, under the direction of R. Montagne, Paris, Peyronnet and Cie., 1948-1950, Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie, t. III, 291 p. + 61 pl. in 16 inset sheets.

F. Bonjean, Au Maroc en roulotte /To Morocco by caravan/, Paris, Hachette, 1950, in-12, 318 p., Paris, Flammarion, pet. in-8°.

J. Orieux, Kasbahs en plein ciel /Casbahs in the middle of the sky/, 1951, 185 p., inset photos. Stay in Ait H'adduyws. Vivid notations, psychological and of atmosphere.

G. Chevalier Le More, "L'émigration dans les tribus d'Imantanout," Arch. in. Im., 1953.

J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Verity and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131-164, 2 inset pl.

/viii cont./

121 the play of inner forces, united now to form them, now to destroy them, was exercised. In the absence of historians' texts, it is by studying the tribes -- and more specifically the ones that have stayed away from external influences -- that one can hope to distinguish the phases of these struggles that match the primitive republics against the leaders who dominate them for a time. It is in this form that we are permitted to see this drama, which sums up a large part of the political life of the Maghreb, being performed.

Direct observation of the small Berbère /Berber/ States, a comparison of their forms and of their structure, indeed permits catching a glimpse of the laws of their evolution, which history does not make known to us. Thus Masqueray could show, in a masterly book (1),

• [113]

1. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886.

that the primitive hamlets of the Aurès, the picturesque and animated villages of Kabylia, the silent towns of the Mzab represented among the sedentary peoples of Algeria the successive stages in the formation of cities, following a progression analogous to the one that primitive Greece and Rome may have known.

Is it not likewise permissible to wonder whether the establishment of the power of the leaders who rise for an instant over anarchic tribes does not also proceed in rapid stages according to constant rules unknown to men, but which nevertheless invariably direct their courses and lead them first to success, then to ruin?

For the purpose of trying to see whether this is so, there is doubtless no field of research more favorable than Morocco. Indeed, until the establishment of the French Protectorate, we can see an isolated empire living there, half-stricken with helplessness, shaken at the same time by dynastic crises and tribal revolts, now torn apart by dissension, now unified by the energetic

/25 cont./

*175 [127] I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- If one is to believe the most ancient documents on the coast of Morocco that we possess -- the periplus of Hannon /Hanno/ in the fifth century before our era (1) --

[113]

1. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, Vol. I, 3rd ed., pp. 295, 482, 499; Périple d'Hannon /Periplus of Hanno/, I to VII; Hérodote /Herodotus/, IV, 184 and 196 (cf. collection of texts, R. Roget, Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens /Morocco in the Works of the Ancient Authors/, Paris, 1924, pp. 16 to 20).

three distinct population groups were living then in the vicinity of the Oued Dra /Dra Wadi/: the Lixites, the Troglodytes, and the Ethiopians. The Ethiopians were those men of black race, well known to Hérodote /Herodotus/, whose very numerous traces have been found in most of the Saharan oases, and who, with their archaic techniques, still exist in our day in the heart of the African continent in Borkou and Tibesti (2).

[113]

2. E.-F. Gautier, Le Sahara /The Sahara/, Paris, 1923, p. 124. Perhaps they should be regarded as the ancestors of the Haraten /Haratin/, who in our day live in the big qsour /fortified places/ of the Dra, the Dadès, and the Ferkla, although, without any doubt, the bringing in of Sudanese slaves has in the course of the centuries renewed in large part the blood of the black populations of the oases.

/25 cont./

¥ 175 The Lixite pastoralists, who in their way of life were doubtless similar to the Touaregs /Tuareg/ of our time, were, one can believe, the predecessors of the Senhaja with the litham /veil/, widespread in the plains and deserts, the very ones who were to invade the plains of northern Morocco in the first centuries of Islam. Finally, one may think that the sedentary Troglodytes, settled in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas and the Haut-Dra, utilized from that distant epoch the numerous caverns hollowed out of the cliffs, which the Berbères /Berbers/ of our day invariably attribute to the Christians, legendary first inhabitants of the country.

No one has been able up to now to find on the Atlantic coast the traces of the five ports founded by Carthage between Cape Cantin and the mouth of the Dra; the colonies that populated them were doubtless rapidly destroyed by the autochthons. The Ethiopians were also to disappear almost completely, if one is to believe the traditions collected in the time of Edrisi /Idrisi/, under the blows given them by the desert tribes (3).

• [113]

3. Edrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, Leiden, 1886, Dozy and de Goeje trans., pp. 34-35.

— Only Lixites and Troglodytes existed, who, according to our hypothesis, would have belonged to the two great Berbère /Berber/ families of nomads and sedentary people, who subsequently did not cease confronting each other.

/26/ It is known that the Roman occupation of Morocco did not go beyond the plains of the north, and the southern limit of Mauretania Tingitana was marked approximately by the banks of the Bou Regreg. It is not surprising under these conditions that the Latin geographers bring us nothing on the Sous but an undecipherable list of tribes and the names of the large rivers.

We have to wait almost a millennium, up to the time of Ibn Hauqal /ibn-Hawqal/ (ninth century), El Bekri /al-Bakri/

/26 cont./

*175 (eleventh century), and Edrisi /Idrisi/ (twelfth century), to obtain brief indications that permit knowing what the distribution of the populations of the Sous was in the early periods of Islam. Furthermore, in order to understand clearly the circumstances under which the great Berbère /Berber/ families mingled or collided in this remote epoch, we must make an appeal to the traditions that Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ tried tardily -- in the fourteenth century -- to collect and interpret.

One could not, without risking warping the history of Morocco by simplifying it to the extreme, try to explain the peopling of Morocco by the struggle between two ethnic groups, the Branès and the Botr, between whom Ibn Khaldoun seems to divide the ensemble of the Berbère /Berber/ populations, and whose ancient opposition in North Africa would be only the eternal combat between the sedentary people and the nomads (1).

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1. E.-F. Gautier, Les Siècles obscurs du Magreb /The Obscure Centuries of the Maghreb/, Paris, 1927, p. 202 and sqq.

But if the exact meaning of the genealogical classifications established by Arab and Berbère scholars of the Middle Ages is doubtless destined to remain forever obscure to us, the large ethnic divisions that the historians and geographers distinguished in the same epoch under the family names of the Masmouda, Senhaja, and Zenata retain their value entirely; and all the ancient life of the Maghreb is explained by their struggles.

These groups, which include innumerable tribes and confederations often scattered over all of North Africa, constitute veritable nations in the early times of Islam. The elements that form them feel united by a powerful bond, which they get from the belief -- perhaps illusory -- in a common origin. These brothers of the same race are united enough to lend one another mutual assistance against their enemies, to defend their dynasties together, and at the same time to combat those of their rivals.

/27 cont./

*175 of the Oum er Rbi^{c}a live, in fact, the Doukkala /Dukkala/, Regraga, and Haha, whom the impact of Arab tribes will break up or later drive back toward the south; north of the same river, coming as far as the vicinity of Salé and the present territory of the Tadla, the Berghwata are soon going to found their heretical kingdom with false prophets, whose /28/ prestige over the tribes comes from the Berbère /Berber/ Koran that they teach. On the banks of the Sebou live the Beni Hasan, whose territory is contiguous with that of the Ghomara.

This latter group also belongs, if one is to believe Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, to the Masmouda tribes; it occupies the mountains that border the Mediterranean, so that the greatest part of the regions inhabited by sedentary peoples in the Maghreb el Aqsa forms a people of the same race, the same traditions, and the same customs (1).

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1. Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, de Slane trans., Vol. II, p. 135.

On the coast two blocks of Senhaja, one in the neighborhood of Tit and the Oum er Rbi^{c}a, the other on the approaches to Tangier, hardly interrupt the continuity of the Masmoudian territory. But already, on the Saharan confines of the Sous, the great rival family of the Senhaja throws toward the plains successive swarms of conquering tribes, who drive the Masmouda from the Sous valley and who, farther to the East, cross the Atlas and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and make their place by hurling back, to the West of the chain of the Rif, the Ghomara of the mountains of the North.

The great struggle between the Masmouda and the Senhaja, doubtless waged for centuries at the time of the Mussulman conquest, is complicated from the eighth century and still more from the tenth on by the appearance of the Zénète Berbères /Berbers/, nomads who came from the East in the tracks of the Mussulman conquerors, by the invasion route from Taza to Fez.

/28 cont./

*175 While the kingdom of the Berghwata is being created and organized under the aegis of its prophet-kings, in the center of Morocco, Zénète principalities form all around: at Salé, in the country of the Tadla, at Aghmat; their chiefs wage a merciless war with the heretics. The first Zénètes are, moreover, only the vanguard of an army that will come later and whose last elements, in the thirteenth century, will be the tribes of the Beni Merin (2).

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2. L. Massignon, Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVI^e siècle /Morocco in the First Years of the Sixteenth Century/, Algiers, 1906, pp. 140, 146.

II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- It is then that the Almoravide conquerors appear, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ of the Lemtouna tribe, coming from Senegal, who bring along with them the Lamta from the Anti-Atlas (1053). The domination of Yousef /29/ Ben Tachfin /Yusuf ibn-Tashfin/ marks the decline of the power of the sedentary Masmouda; it precipitates first of all the ruin of the Berghwata -- already shaken by the blows given them by the Beni Ifran Zénètes -- and this disappearance takes on great importance, because thus the ethnic continuity of the sedentary tribes, whose territories extended until then from the western Atlas to the Rif, is broken; the Deren itself is conquered and visited by the Almoravides in its smallest innermost recesses (1);

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 71.

finally, in the North the Ghomara are threatened by the unceasingly stronger pressure of the Senhaja from the central Atlas, who have crossed the banks of the Ouergha and are presently reaching the shores of the Mediterranean. Without doubt, at the same epoch in the far Sous other Senhaja, the Gezzoula, are already

/30 cont./

*175 today, have nevertheless kept up to the present the same territory as of old. In the West come the Hintata, vanished now, then the Gedmiwa, still in place west of the Nefis; the Genfisa, of whom the Seksawa nowadays represent the most active group; finally the Haha, in the vicinity of the Ocean, whose habitat has undergone only a slight change.

Moreover, from the twelfth century on we see foreigners from the plain of the Sous or from that of Marrakech, such as the Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Ergita, as well as fractions of Zenata or Doukkala /Dukkala/, take their place beside the Almohade tribes. One might believe that they were groups driven from their habitat by the invasions from the plains or even sometimes political emigrants who had taken refuge in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

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1. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'histoire Almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., Paris, 1928, pp. 64-65.

On the lower course of the Sous wadi, Mesgina, Ksima, and Chtouka lived in places near the ones that they still occupy. In the Anti-Atlas, south of Taroudant, we already find grouped around the Arghen the tribes of the Ida Ou Nadif, Indouzal, Ida Ou Zeddout, Ida Ou Zekri. Farther to the East the Ait Waouzgit surrounded the Sirwa, while on the two versants of the central Atlas move the innumerable tribes of the Senhaja of the darkness and of the daylight /Fr. Senhaja de l'ombre et du midi/.

When the empire founded by the Masmouda was consolidated, the large autochthonous families in their ensemble had already taken their present place in the country. Scarcely in the plains of the Oum er Rbi^{c}a, the Berghwata ended up by disappearing under the blows of the Almohades themselves, while in the Anti-Atlas the mounting tide of the Gezzoula continued to threaten the peace of the sedentary peoples of the Sous valley.

*175 /31/ So we see, up to the end of the twelfth century, the peopling of Morocco taking place little by little, under aspects that the present-day distribution of the tribes still permits finding again. It is true that up to here it is Berbères /Berbers/ who are disputing the possession of the land. Only a few Arabs, who came from Orient or from Andalusia, are settling in the towns. The Occident in the time of the Almohades still remains the almost exclusive domain of the old African race, while for two centuries already the great wave of Hilalian invasions has been overturning Ifriqiya and the central Maghreb.

III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- It was in the reign of Ya^{c}qoub el Mansour /Ya^{c}qub al-Mansur/ that the Arab tribes deported by the Almohade ruler after having fomented revolts in Ifriqiya appear in Morocco for the first time in 1187 (1).

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1. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, Paris, 1913, p. 200 and passim.

The first Mussulman conquest, led by Oqba ben Nafi^{c} /Okba ibn-Nafi/, had brought, as is known, only minute ethnic changes in western Berbérie /Barbary/. More important because of their consequences were the successive deportations of the Hilalian tribes, transplanted into the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/ and into the territory of the Berghwata by order of the Almohade caliphates. It is then that true tribes were constituted in the search for an eventual habitat: these are the Jochem, in the northern plains, in the vicinity of the Loukkos; the Beni Jabir, in the land of the Tadla; the Atbej, neighbors of the Doukkala /Dukkala/, and, closer to the Atlas, penetrating onto Berbère soil among the Haha, the Haret and the Nader. These nomadic groups were not to cease moving in the midst of the sedentary tribes in the course of the following centuries, until they in turn decided to settle in the plains of the north.

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
*631 who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*63 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

/38 cont./
000 surrounded by ramparts of dry stone (1).

•[113]

1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 134-235.

Such were the small fortresses of the Haha, grouped especially on the edges of the Qsob wadi and the Tensift, which disappeared under the combined effort of the Arabs and Portuguese. Each of them had several thousand inhabitants who governed themselves according to the same rules as are observed in our day by the independent mountain tribes. One might ask, moreover, whether the existence of these small cities is not explained above all by the dire necessity in which the sedentary plains people found themselves, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, of defending their goods and their harvests against the attacks of the nomads. Subsequently, when the Arabs had stopped stirring up the country by their incursions, were dispersed among the Berbère tribes and attached to the soil in their turn, one no longer saw reappearing the small towns "girded with rough stone" that the Portuguese wars had caused to disappear and whose usefulness moreover no longer made itself felt; the whole population has been dispersed since then in the same region in detached houses and in minuscule hamlets, as we can easily observe today.

361 In the absence of big towns in which the Berbères are only strangers, or small cities that did not withstand the war, in our day the Sous knows no sizable centers other than the ones that appear at the very foot of the Atlas, on the line of the /39/ springs or at the beginning of the highways of the Deren; such are, for example, Amismiz, Imi n Tanout, Mneizla, Bou L'ajlat and Talekjont, whose prosperity depends on the wealth of their crops and the activity of their markets at the junction point of the plain and mountain. But these big villages, whose population
361 reaches a thousand inhabitants, are most often made up of sev-
632 eral distinct quarters, separate hamlets that constitute small

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center
that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the
South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra
among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence
of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several
centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in
the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their re-
ligion (1).

•[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the
Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted
for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient
villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes
serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Is-
lamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
433 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great
expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can
pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is
the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in
the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the
springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the
small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of
the bottom of the large valleys.

/51 cont./
789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

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1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
791 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maʿqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

/55 cont./

*175 114 Later, when Morocco closes its frontiers and lives apart from the western world, the rare writers who still consent to keep the chronicle of the events happening in an already ruined Empire hardly merit the name of historians; they limit their effort /56/ to vindication of the sovereigns or base their judgments on the rules of a narrow religious formalism (1).

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1. E. Lévi-Provençal, Les Historiens des Chorfa /The Historians of the Shorfa/, Paris, p. 21 and sqq.

Moreover, all the books that the Arab authors left to us show only the most official aspect of the institutions as they might appear to the learned men of the towns, faithful servants of the Makhzen /makhzan/; they almost never tell us the policy of the leaders, the reaction of the tribes, the struggle of the influences among which the power is divided up in a region often abandoned to anarchy. The European texts are more precise and sometimes contain valuable information, but they are rarely the work of travelers experienced enough to have penetrated deeply into the obscure and complicated workings of Berbère /Berber/ politics.

*175 Under these conditions it is useless to hope to succeed in knowing, in all their development, the great political movements that have disturbed the life of the Moroccan South, since we would not know how to interpret with certainty the documents that are available to us or to put them together in sufficient number to draw an exact enough picture of the past. It will suffice for us to choose here, from among the number of limited facts whose recital has reached us, those that are most fraught with meaning, to esteem them for what they are worth, and to tie them together, in order to sketch in large strokes the curve of an evolution whose more precise variations we must give up knowing. The general view at which we shall thus arrive will perhaps suffice to bring to light some of the permanent characteristics of the social life and will help us to understand the present better.

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*175 I. The ancient history of the Sous. -- We know almost nothing about the history and ancient geography of the Sous before Islam. The periplus of Hannon /Hanno/, as we have said, only permits us to imagine what the populations of the far Sous might have been, Ethiopians, Lixites and Troglodytes, in the fifth century before our era. It is known that the Roman occupation of Mauretania Tingitana did not extend into the north of Morocco beyond the plain of the Gharb /Rharb/, since the "limes" stopped in the vicinity of Rabat. Beyond, there was doubtless nothing but guard posts for the protection of merchants. Farther toward the South the "Promontorium /57/ Solis," where the Phoenicians had formerly set up an altar to Poseidon, can still be identified with Cape Cantin, but already in the time of Strabon /Strabo/ the trading posts founded by Hannon /Hanno/ had disappeared without leaving any traces (1).

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1. Hérodote /Herodotus/ IV, 43, 184; Périple d'Hannon /Periplus of Hanno/. Cf. text in Roget, Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens /Morocco in the Works of the Ancient Authors/, Paris, 1924, pp. 16-17.

Pline l'Ancien /Pliny the Elder/ alone can enable us to know, with a great dearth of details, under what aspects this mysterious coast of the Moroccan South then appeared to foreign navigators. The "Getules Autololes" were living between the littoral and the Atlas; then came the river Qosenus and the Selatites, perhaps on the banks of the Sous; the Masates and their river, which we can identify with the wadi Massat; the valley of the river Darat, our Dra of today, peopled with Daratite Ethiopians. Still farther it was the Perorsis Ethiopians with whom the traders made exchanges, while other Gétules, the Dariens, stayed in the interior of the continent (2).

2. The Autolole and Darien "Getules" are

*175 /57 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ perhaps Igezzoulen of the tribe of the Aït Ouloul (?) and Igezzoulen of the Dra.

As for the Atlas, the "Deren" or "Deris," its distance and the marvels that manifested themselves there put it outside the range of exploration by men. Watered by gushing springs, in gardens where marvelous fruits grew, during the day it did not seem to contain inhabitants. But at night, on the contrary, it was covered with fires. The aegipans /fabulous inhabitants of Libya, according to Pliny/ and the satyrs gave themselves over to their dances, while the flutes, the Panpipe, the noise of drums and cymbals mysteriously filled the air with their harmonies and din (3).

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3. Pline l'Ancien /Pliny the Elder/, Book V. Cf. text in Roget, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

II. The first attempts at Mussulman organization. -- When the companion of the Prophet Oqba ben Nafiᶜ, with the aid of the Zenètes, conquered the far Maghreb in 690, it was in the Sous on the already famous banks of Massat that the conqueror came to affirm the completion of his work in a manner that legend has expressed symbolically. Having, it is said, no more men to subdue and convert, he urged his horse into the Ocean in order to greet the fish, subjects of the prophet Jonas.

The Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous, like their brothers of the North, embraced /58/ the doctrines of the Kharedjites /Khawarij/, in order to fight better against their new masters. Punished by ᶜObeid Allah Ibn el Habbab, they rebelled again under the direction of a military leader, Maisara, in order to be delivered from the tyranny of the Arab governors.

In spite of its conversion to Islam, the South of Morocco doubtless remained still subject to Judeo-Christian influences, and one can also believe that the old magico-religious practices of

/58 cont./

*175 ancient Libya kept a strong hold on the mind. But while in the center of the Maghreb, in the land of the Berghwata, these ancient ferments were to favor the creation of a heretical kingdom guided by priest-kings, depositaries of a Berbère /Berber/ Koran, when false prophets -- such as Ha-Mim and his family -- on the shores of the Mediterranean were going to lead the Ghomara into impious practices and earn for them the punishment of God for centuries, the success of the new religion was soon affirmed in the Sous. The ardor of the converts there became such, according to Mussulman writers, that this region did not delay in becoming the blessed land of the scholars and the favorite place for theological contentions between rival sects.

Later, when Idris the Fatimite had founded an Empire in Fez and made the dogma of the political pre-eminence of the shorfa /shurfa/ recognized from that time on, the Sous found itself constituting, in the partition of Morocco, a veritable kingdom. Thus it was that ᶜAbdallah, son of Idris II, became king of Aghmat, of the Nefis, of the country of the Masmouda and Lamta, that is to say, of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas. In the eleventh century people were still attributing to this sovereign the founding of the town of Tamedelt near a silver mine between the wadi Dra and Igli of the Sous; in the same period a heretical tribe was referring to a king they had had, Abouʾl Qasem Idris, grandson of ᶜAbdallah, and soon the tribe of the Semlala, who also claims as ancestor the Idrisite sovereign of the Sous, began to assert, in the name of their origins, political claims that they have not renounced up to our day (1).

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1. El Bekri /al-Bakri/, Description de l'Afrique septentrionale /Description of Northern Africa/, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 303-308; Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, Vol. I, pp. 212-216, 237, 238; Fournel, Les Berbères /The Berbers/, Paris, 1857-1875, pp. 270-272; Ibn Hauqal /ibn-Hawqal/, de Goeje tr.; de Slane trans., Journal Asiatique, 1842, p. 67.

/58 cont./

*175 In spite of this progress of sherifism, the Sous then was doubtless not entirely peaceful or orthodox, people indulged in furious /59/ combats even into the mosques; the use of fermented beverages was constant, and it was even said that in the mountains, in a region near the one inhabited at present by the Ida ou Izimmer, the tribes secretly worshiped a ram, probable vestige of a Libyc cult (1).

[619]

1. The fraction of the Ida Ou Izimmer -- in Berbère /Berber/, the sons of the ram -- in our day is part of the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the North of Taroudant. Cf. H. Basset, Quelques notes sur l'Ammon Libyque /"Some Notes on the Libyc Ammon"/ (Mélanges R. Basset /R. Basset Miscellany/, Paris, 1923).

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There is nothing surprising in the fact that the rigorists sometimes hurled anathema on the Atlas of the Masmouda and that people repeated the hadith by which the Prophet announced that on the day of the resurrection all this region would be "led into hell with all its inhabitants just as the bride is led to her husband" (2).

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2. Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. I, p. 563.

At least the Moroccan South seems to us at this epoch, before the disorders caused by the conquests of the Almoravides, to be a prosperous region, well cultivated and peopled with towns. There were, to the north of the Atlas, on both sides of the mountain of the Kik, Neffis, the town with the gardens, and Aghmat, the Idrisite capital, which had been governed previously by Berbère /Berber/ magistrates changed each year; on the South versant, Igli and Taroudant, at the intersection of the mountain routes, Tamedelt in the Anti-Atlas, Massat in the plain and on the Noun /Nun/, the oases of Noul Lemta and Ifri. The coast was actively

/61 cont./

*175 But it is no less interesting to try to understand in the light of documents recently brought to light (1)

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1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, Lévi-Provençal tr. (Mémoires d'El Beidaq), Paris, 1928.

by what means was ensured, in the heart of the state of the Masmouda, the solidity of a foundation on which ʿAbd el Moumen could make rest with so much /62/ success the government of the immense territory of which he had taken possession with the support of a few thousand ignorant montagnards.

In the first period of the Almohade penetration the tribes of the Deren could actually constitute an intact reserve of intrepid fighters, but they were not at all prepared to play the grandiose role that the Mahdi dreamed of for them. Hintata, Gedmiwa, Genfisa, Ait Tinmellel, who formed the large Masmoudian tribes, were then only names by which was designated an aggregate of little isolated cantons like the ones found in our day in the highest regions of the Atlas. Most of these fractions formed minuscule republics, at the head of which was put a "mezwar," doubtless similar to the "moqaddem," magistrate named for one year, who still today exercises the same functions in the same valleys. All the important decisions were made during general assemblies, and we see, at the origin of the movement, the considerable role played by these meetings of minor notables. It is the "jmaʿa" /jemaa, djemaa/ of the Hintata that conclude the first alliances with Ibn Toumert; the "impeccable Imam" himself frequently assembles his believers in "agrao" -- a term that designates, in all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco, the "jmaʿa" of all the men from one tribe constituted in order to deliberate jointly --; soon there will appear in the service of the Mahdi the council of ten, made up of his most reliable companions, as well as the council of fifty, in which all the tribes of the newborn state are represented. All these features indicate very well the republican

/64 cont./

*175 [c]Abd el Moumen, in continuing the founder's tradition, knew how to adapt that organization immediately to the new situation created by the rapid growth of the subject territory. The Heskoura, the Senhaja of the darkness and of the daylight /Fr. Senhaja de l'ombre et du midi/ took their places following the first tribes; after a few years, when the revolts among the Hargha had obliged the Caliph to call on his brothers from Oranie to make sure of his personal guard, the Goumiya also entered the "tamyiz" of the Almohades.

From the beginning the boldest innovation had been to make all the foreign elements -- comrades who had come from Egypt or various districts of North Africa -- disappear into the mass of the Masmouda by making them enter the tribe of the Hargha. This practice was continued by subsequently attaching to one of the five original tribes the populations of the regions conquered or won over. Thus a new crystallization of the tribes was brought about in an entirely original form by grouping the least reliable elements around a faithful nucleus. In this way the Hargha received the Inda Ou Zal, Ida Ou Nadif, Ida Ou Limit, Ida Ou Finis, Ida Ou Zeddout, Ida Ou Zekri from the north versant of the Anti-Atlas (2).

2. The fact that it is the tribes from the south of Taroudant who are then attached to the Hargha is enough, in our opinion, to show that the territory of the Mahdi's tribe of origin was indeed that of the Arghen, at present still settled in the Anti-Atlas not far from the Inda ou Zal.

[113] Cf. in the opposite sense H. Basset and Terrasse, Sanctuaires et Forteresses almohades /"Almohade Sanctuaries and Fortresses"/, Hespéris, 1924, p. 19.

The itineraries of the Almohade expeditions in the Sous valley confirm, insofar as they can be identified, the opinion that

*175 /68 cont./ of the Heskoura and the Arabs, was to hold Sijilmassa, the Dra, and the Haut-Sous for a long time. So when a son of El Mansour, El Mamoun, had taken power in Marrakech, the role of the council of the Almohades seemed so pernicious to him that he had 100 of them executed and ostentatiously rejected the doctrines, traditions, and ceremonial of the Mahdi, whom the sheiks referred to ceaselessly (3).

3. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 236.

A few years afterwards, his successor, Er-Rechid, had to re-establish these institutions (1232) in order to win over the mountains in revolt, but at the same time he was falling under the tutelage of the chief of the Hintata, Abou Mohammed ben Wanudin, lord of the Dra, master of Sijilmassa and governor of the provinces of the North. Another Almohade, Sa^{c}id Ibn Zakaria el Gedmiwi, played an analogous role in the reign of Es-Sa^{c}id, son of El Mamoun, who at one time had tried to get rid of the sheiks by concluding a dangerous alliance with the /69/ Sofian, Khlot, and Ma^{c}qil Arab tribes. After the death of Es-Sa^{c}id and the rout of his army at Tlemcen, in the land of the Beni ^{c}Abd el Wad, in the reign of El Mortada, again an Almohade sheik, ^{c}Ali ben Yedder, revolted in the Sous in order to found an independent kingdom with the aid of the Ma^{c}qil Arabs, and the Sultan was powerless to put it down (1).

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1. Chronique des Almohades et des Hafsides /Chronicle of the Almohades and Hafsids/, Fagnan tr., pp. 23, 30, 32, 39, 43; Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, pp. 231-243; El Marrakchi, ibid., pp. 205-285.

For 30 years, however, the thrust of the Zenètes, interrupted for two centuries, again took a new form. The Beni Merin were advancing in the north of the country, winning the territory of the

/69 cont./

*175 Tadla, encouraging the rebels; when the Almohade sheiks saw them give their powerful support to a relative of the sovereign, Abou Debbous, they themselves abandoned a lost cause and many of them rendered homage to Abou Yousef Yaᶜqoub, son of ᶜAbd el Haqq the Mérinide. El Mortada sought refuge in the Atlas in vain; he had to flee to Azemmour, where he was betrayed, then delivered over and put to death.

The reign of Abou Debbous, last Almohade caliph, was brief; having succeeded in destroying the little kingdom of the Beni Yedder in the Sous, the Sultan, who had asked for the Mérinides' protection, tried to betray them by seeking to obtain the support of the son of Yaghmorasen at Tlemcen. At that moment Yaᶜqoub ben ᶜAbd el Haqq advanced on Marrakech, took the town, killed the Sultan, and the remains of the Almohade Makhzen /makhzan/ fled into the mountains (1269).

Then for one last time the last Almohades could be seen trying to reconstitute an independent kingdom in this place that had seen the birth of the Empire of the Mahdi. In Tinmellel, around the mosque and royal tombs, the vizier Ibn Attouch had Ishaq, brother of El Mortada, proclaimed sultan against all hope. The Masmouda held firm for several years against their enemies, then, without strength, allowed the holy city to be defiled; defenders and Sultan were put to death and the sepulchers desecrated. It was the end of the epic in which the tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had surprised the Occident by their valor in war, their organizational power, and their spirit of adaptation (2).

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2. Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, pp. 247-253, IV, 82. -- Cf. also the fine article by H. Basset, H. Terrasse on Tinmel (Sanctuaires et Forteresses almohades /"Almohade Sanctuaries and Fortresses"/, Hespéris, 1924).

This collapse, rendered inevitable by the rivalries and ambition /70/ of the Almohade sheiks, did not entail, as has sometimes

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*175 change as if they did not belong to families long established in the exercise of power, but rather as if the authority had been given successively to various notables of the country; in any case no indication permits us to believe that this rough outline of feudality resulted, as happened at the end of the nineteenth century, from the progressive affirmation of a personal power born in the bosom of the tribes, and which would be substituted for the faltering authority of the sultans.

On the contrary, under Mérinide domination it is families firmly implanted in the country who concentrate power in their hands and constitute veritable local dynasties. Such would be the Metzara among the Haha, the Aït Hadddo ben Yousef among the independent Seksawa, the Sad Allah among the Gedmiwa, of Almohade origin; among the Hintata, the Oulad Younes, autochthons, /73/ and the Oulad Mousa Ben ʿAli, who came from the Mérinide Makhzen /makhzan/; the Beni Khettab among the Heskoura.

The organization of the large commands of the Atlas moreover could not prevent the Sous from experiencing, even during the finest years of the Mérinide Empire, an almost uninterrupted succession of revolts. The existence of independent tribes like those of the Seksawa, the presence of the little kingdom of the Beni Yedder in the high valley of the Sous, of Almohade origin, and above all the arrival of the Maʿqil, by means of whom the contagion of disorder reached the Haut-Dra and Sijilmassa, actually then made the Moroccan South the seat of all the revolts and the ready-made refuge of unfortunate pretenders (1).

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1. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 378-385.

It is necessary to indicate here by way of example the monotonous series of uprisings that justify the constant intervention of the Mérinide Makhzen /makhzan/, occupied, however, in other regions with crushing tasks, if one wishes to explain what the life of a faraway province might be under a glorious dynasty.

2: Montagne--106 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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Chapter IV

The Province of the Sous in the Course of History From the Fifteenth Century to Our Day

I. The first maraboutic reaction. Its general characteristics. -- II. The Regraga. -- III. The Imam el Jazouli and his disciples. -- IV. The shorfa and the debut of the Saadians. -- V. The attitude of the tribes under the first Saadians. -- VI. The reign of Ahmed el Mansour. -- VII. The great maraboutic crisis (1603-1669). -- VIII. The maraboutic principalities of the Sous. -- IX. The life of the tribes during the maraboutic period. -- X. The Filalian shorfa resume the struggle against the marabouts. -- XI. The government of the Makhzen in the Sous under the Filalians. -- XII. The reign of Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah and the founding of Mogador. -- XIII. Weakness of the sherifian government in the reign of Moulay Sliman. -- XIV. Insufficiency of historical sources in the nineteenth century. Necessity for direct investigations. -- XV. The Makhzen policy under Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman. -- XVI. The reign of Sidi Mohammed. -- XVII. Moulay ʾlHasan and the Sous expeditions. -- XVIII. The development of anarchy; the Protectorate.

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I. The first maraboutic reaction; its general characteristics. -- During the interval of time that extends from the decline of the Mérinide dynasty at the end of the fourteenth century to the appearance of the Filalian sultans in the course of the second half of the seventeenth century, the political life in the south of Morocco is entirely dominated by maraboutic activity. The aspects of this great movement, which has as its stage the whole of Morocco and whose double goal is to complete the Islamization of the Berbères /Berbers/ and to struggle against the Christian conquests, are quite well known (1).

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1. Cf. especially the useful book by Cour, Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc /Establishment of the Dynasties of the Sherifs in Morocco/, Paris, 1904.

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*175 its expansion, by reason of the limitless credulity of the Berbère /Berber/ populations. The reading of the hagiographies of the period, that of Ibn ᶜAskar, for example, makes us understand in what an atmosphere of the marvelous the saints and their admirers lived; we find them mingled with a crowd of intriguers, madmen, and the simple-minded; the heretics and the sorcerers corrupt the crowds and stir them up by their discords or their marvels (1). .

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1. Ibn ᶜAskar, Daouhat en Nâcihr /"Daᶜwat [dawut] al-Nāshir"/, Archives Marocaines, Vol. XIX, pp. 80-85.

/84/ Another psychological force of great power is the terror in which the Berbères /Berbers/ hold the malediction of the saints. Their "daᶜwa" /incantation/ is not invoked in vain, and those who transgress their orders are promptly struck with an exemplary chastisement (1).

1. Ibn ᶜAskar, op. cit., p. 54; Weir, The Shaikhs of Morocco, Edinburgh, 1904, p. 91.

While the religious personages will utilize the frame of mind of the Berbères /Berbers/ in order to gain their confidence, group their forces, and soon to found veritable small states with their co-operation, the Saadian shorfa /shurfa/, on the other hand, will try for 100 years to re-establish the political unity of the Maghreb el Aqsa for their advantage. But their action will appear only as an interlude in the slow work that the marabouts pursue in order to put the populations of the Moroccan South under their moral and political tutelage; a second religious reaction will sweep away their achievement until the time when the Filalian shorfa will succeed in re-establishing the tradition of the Empire for two centuries and a half.

The great religious movement that dominates the whole history of our province from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century is

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*175 specifically Berbère /Berber/. The leaders, like the subjects, belong mostly to the old tribes of the Sous. Moreover, one can observe that the fires of maraboutism, which are kindled successively on the Atlantic coast, ceaselessly move farther to the South and develop in regions where the tribes are more and more rebellious against the tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and, on the other hand, more attached to their independent government.

Each of these religious or political centers has its own characteristics and evolves separately. The Jbel Hadid, on the left bank of the mouth of the Tensift, saw the militia of the Regraga arise in the fourteenth century; the central region of the Haha country is the seat of power of the Imam el Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ in the fifteenth century; the South of the Haha and the Tazerwalt, in the Anti-Atlas, shelter Sidi Saʿid Ou ʿAbd en Naʿim, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, and their descendants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Finally, the very valley of the Sous and the country of the Haha will be the cradle of power of the Saadians, whose enterprises at the beginning of the sixteenth century will come to cross the course of the maraboutic movement, without succeeding in stopping it.

/85/ The Regraga. -- We have very little precise information on the religious organization of which the Regraga made themselves the champions. Founded by Abou Saʿid ʿAbd er Rahman er Regragi, died at Chichawa in 1370, and by Abou Otman Saʿid el Hartanani, whose zaouia /zawiya, zauia: Moslem monastery and school/ was located at the very mouth of the Tensift, that association of holy men used the name of chadilisme /Shādhilīism/, like all those who were subsequently to arise (1).

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1. Cour, op. cit., pp. 13-17; Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, Rabat, 1923.

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*175 Its missionaries spread throughout the South; one finds their tombs, more or less legendary, not only all along the coast, but in the mountains among the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the Demsira, and as far as the high valley of the Sous and the Zagmouzen. The memory of the Regraga seems bound up in the folklore, especially at the time of the "Jahiliya," when people were still ignorant of the true God, whom they contributed powerfully toward making known. Perhaps they even had to struggle against hostile tribes and were warriors at the same time as religious men, according to the true tradition of Islam. People made of them, in the South of Morocco, the 40 missionaries of the Maghreb, or again the seven pilgrims of Mekke /Mecca/, to whom the Prophet spoke in the Berbère /Berber/ tongue (2).

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2. H. Basset, Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, Algiers, 1920, p. 265.

However that may be, they doubtless had no political role, but rather asked the converted, in exchange for their preaching and good example, to grant them "ziara," lucrative offerings. As a matter of fact, one still sees their descendants, after six centuries, making fruitful tours to collect alms in the region of the Haha and Mtougga.

III. The Imam el Jazouli and his disciples. -- The enterprise of the Imam El Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ is better known to us than that of the Regraga. Mohammed ben Sliman el Jazouli was originally from a tribe of the Asif n Tankert on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas. After writing in Fez the "Delaïl el Khirat" /Dalā'il al-Khairāt/, a devotional book at present widespread throughout the Maghreb, he came to follow the teaching of Chérif /Sherif/ Abou ʿAbdallah of the Banou Amghar of Tit, was afterward expelled from Safi by the governor, disturbed by his deeds, and

/85 cont./

*175 left to found his brotherhood in Afoughal among the Haha (3).

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3. In the course of research carried out with Mr. P. de Cenival among the Chyadma /Chiadma/, we have been able to identify Afoughal with the Souk el Had of the Dra, 35 kilometers to the east of Mogador.

Preaching the holy war at the same /86/ time that he was propagating the mystical doctrines of chadilisme /Shādhilīism/, at the time when the Christians' expeditions were multiplying, Jazouli had immense success. More than 12,000 disciples carried his doctrine into all the tribes, while powerful offshoots of his zaouia /zawiya, zauia: Moslem monastery and school/ were founded in the north of Morocco in Salé, Fez, Meknès, Tlemcen, on the Tadla, and in the South at Bou Romman, among the Howara, at Massat, and at Aqqa. But the power of this man, whose pride was such that he had heard God declare to him "that he had placed him above the creatures of his time," was the cause of his downfall; he perished, poisoned, in 1465, and his enemies, temporal leaders or talebs hostile to his brotherhood, ruined his achievement. We know that one of his adepts, ʿOmar el Maghiti ech Chyadmi, surnamed Es Seyyaf -- the executioner -- assembled the loyal disciples and ravaged in his name the Masmoudian tribes of the plain of the North, while he was transporting the corpse of the master in the midst of his bands of brigands, in order to continue to live on his prestige (1).

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1. Cf. Ibn ʿAskar, Daouhat en Nâchir /"Daʿwat al-Nāshir"/; Ahmed el Fasi, Momtiʿ el Asmaʿ; El Arbi El Fasi, Mirat el Mahasin; Archives marocaines (Graulle trans.), Vol. XIX, pp. 17, 271, 282; Cour, Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc /Establishment of the Dynasties of the Sherifs in Morocco/,

/87 cont./

*175 appearance did not resemble "soldiers, but masons and laborers, because they were all animated by the benefit they expected to draw from it" (3).

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3. Diego de Torres, Histoire des Chérifs /"History of the Sherifs"/ (in Afrique /Africa/, by Marmol), Vol. III, p. 24.

At the time when, thanks to the tribes' support, the family of the Saadian shorfa was on the point of rising, the political anarchy in the Moroccan South was at its height. The profound decline of the kingdoms of the North had actually ended in the carving up of the whole country. The /88/ Christians had acquired the co-operation of the plains Arabs against the Berbères /Berbers/, and their allies were making raids for them against the cities north of the Haha, which were destroyed one after another as far as the Qsob wadi. The Arabs, under the command of Yahya ben Tahfouf, even pushed to the gates of Marrakech. The capital of the South was in the hands of a sheik of the Hintata, Naser Bou Chentouf. After fighting for a long time the Oulad Mota^{c} Arabs, who were imposing crushing tithes on the sedentary people and had become the confederates of the Portuguese, this chief had usurped the power that the Mérinides were incapable of exercising. Moulay Idris, a relative of this king of Marrakech, whose family had been settled for a long time at the foot of the Atlas in the region of the Asif el Mal, had himself called the "king of the mountain" and collected tribute among the Masmouda and in the plain. These two chiefs were doubtless descendants of Almohade sheiks; perhaps they were even from the family of the Hafsides, those Hintata emirs who had become rulers of Ifriqiya; they claimed the rank of shorfa /shurfa/ and used the prestige that their birth gave them in order to have their authority accepted in the mountains. But by their position in the plain or on the Dir one can think that they were depending on the tribes of the Azaghar of

/88 cont./

*175 Marrakech, the Heskoura and the Tadla, rather than on the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

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1. Marmol, Afrique /Africa/, Perrot d'Ablancourt trans., Paris, 1667, Vol. II, pp. 41-63.

The upper valley of the Dra was divided between two lords of the family of the "Mezwar" (2),

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2. The term "mezwar" designates, in the towns of Morocco, the representative of the shorfa /shurfa/ settled in the city. This Berbère /Berber/ word derived from the root zwr, to precede (Destaing, Vocab. Français-Berbère, p. 229), also has the sense of president of an assemblage of notables, of "moqaddem"; at the time of the Almohades, a "mezwar" was at the head of each of the fractions of the confederation of the Gedmiwa (cf. above, p. 80).

ruling the districts of "Tenveves" and "Tensita" and separated from each other by a deep enmity. In the fury of their struggles, the Mezwar went so far as to call on the Christians settled at Santa Cruz (Agadir), and the whole Sous valley, already traversed by the Arabs, was agitated by their quarrel. Moreover, their power and liberality were famous, and Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ received a most generous welcome in their dwellings. One of them, who had thought he would do well to present magnificent gifts to the king of Fez, had them carried by an ambassador whose pronunciation and style, doubtless not very classic because of /89/ Berbère /Berber/ influences, were, in the opinion of the

/91 cont./

*175 only authority to which the tribes could turn. During the crisis of anarchy that followed El Ghaleb's death (1574), it was with one of these marabouts, Abou ᶜAbdallah Mohammed ben Ou Saᶜdoun, that Mohammed el Motawakkel, El Ghaleb's son, came twice seeking refuge, in the highest region of the Atlas mountains, accompanied by the pious biographer Ibn ᶜAskar (1577). The holy man predicted to his host, driven from Fez and Marrakech, an imminent return of fortune; but these wishes could not protect him from the attacks of his uncle Ahmed, brother of the sultan ᶜAbd el Malek. It is known how El Motawakkel, allied with the Christians, perished with them the following year in the disaster of the Oued el Mkhazen /sic/.

/92/ VI. The reign of Ahmed el Mansour. -- The sultan Ahmed el Mansour, whose glorious reign has so often been celebrated, was unable to change notably the anarchical situation of the South of Morocco. A brother of the sultan, Abou Faris, received command of the Sous, but he remained shut up in Taroudant (1).

•(113) 1. El Oufrani, Nozhet el Hâdi, Houdas trans., pp. 174-274.

Actually, since the assassination of Mohammed Ech Cheikh in 1557, the Saadian Makhzen /makhzan/ no longer, it seems, had any ambition in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ other than to hold the great routes of passage by constructing casbahs entrusted to reliable guards. Doubtless it was at this time that the fortresses of Frouga, Qehira, Imi n Tanout, Ben Takemous, and Ameskroud were constructed or restored in order to mark out the Tizi Maᶜcho trail. The sultan Ahmed el Mansour himself wrote to his son to recommend that he make every effort to have this route adopted by all. The use of another road, which the people were trying to impose on travelers across their territory, "would have," he said, "ruined the country if it had become permanent." The authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was exercised, however, in certain regions of the Deren, doubtless between the

/92 cont./

*175 Nefis, the pass of the Glawa, and the Sirwa. A command had been entrusted to the kaïd ʿAbd el ʿAziz ben Saʿid El Mezwari el Ouzgiti, born in Taroudant, vizier of Ahmed el Mansour. This leader probably belonged to the same family as the Mezwar of the Dra and referred to an Almohade origin, which assured him of great prestige with the tribes. A man of great ambition and extensive knowledge, if one judges by his library, which contained, it is said, 50,000 volumes, he preserved his personal position a very long time; and it was with him that Abou Fares, beaten by Moulay Zidan, came later to seek refuge (1).

1. El Oufrani, Nozhet el Hâdi, Houdas trans., pp. 174-274.

In the western part of the great chain, on the contrary, anarchy did not cease developing. After his accession, Ahmed el Mansour had had to pursue his nephew, Daoud ben ʿAbd el Moumen, who had had himself proclaimed king among the Seksawa. An expedition had driven him from there, but this rebel settled in the Anti-Atlas, where it was again necessary to pursue him as far as the edge of the desert. A Portuguese traveler who was crossing the passes in the region of the Tizi Maʿcho in 1596 noted there the state of rebellion of a marabout, doubtless Sidi ʿAbdallah ben Saʿid of the Haha (2).

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2. Anonymous Portuguese, Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc /Unpublished Sources on the History of Morocco/, first series France, Vol. II, p. 256.

/93/ VII. The great maraboutic crisis (1603-1660). -- It is above all after the death of Ahmed el Mansour (1603) that the religious leaders are going to assert their power; but even during his reign they continue to strengthen their political organization so well adapted to Berbère /Berber/ life. Perhaps it is possible, in

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*175 spite of the insufficiency of our documents, to indicate under what conditions their power was able to develop.

When they appear in a tribe, the founders of zaouias at first have no influence other than that given them by their learning, their personal worth, and their authority over hundreds of disciples. But little by little their centers of operation multiply and hive off by degrees. The framework of the small states that they formed can still be found again today by counting the tombs of saints and the maraboutic groupings presently without importance, widespread in an area whose boundaries most often remain quite precise. Thus, Sidi Saʿid Ou ʿAbd en Naʿim founds at the beginning of the sixteenth century the zaouia of the Aït Daoud among the Haha. His son ʿAbdallah, already threatened by the sultans because of his independence, settles down in the mountains in the region of the summits (1).

1. The zaouia of Berada, which does not appear to us to have been identified up to now. We believe it to be distinct from that of the Aït Daoud and from that of the Aït Tamment.

His grandson Yahya Abou Zakarya comes among the Aït Tamment on the south versant of the Atlas, by approaching Taroudant (2).

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2. Ibn ʿAskar, Daouhat en Nâchir, Graulle tr., Archives Marocaines /Moroccan Archives/, XIX, p. 176.

Each new zaouia is a center from which new colonies leave, following the valleys, to the point where, in the legend, Sidi Saʿid Ou ʿAbd en Naʿim, whose sons have settled everywhere in the best irrigated lands of the country, could subsequently acquire the reputation of having in former times been a great discoverer of springs. The boundary of this pacific occupancy of the country by the family of Sidi Saʿid Ou ʿAbd en Naʿim appears to have been

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*175 As soon as Moulay Rechid /Mulai Arshid, Mulay Rashid/ had taken possession of Fez in 1667, he made an attack on the zaouia of Dila, the most dangerous because of its power and the ambition of its masters. After leveling it, he advanced on Marrakech unexpectedly and put out of the way the usurper Kerroum el Hajj, who had had the last of the Saadians, Moulay el ᶜAbbas, assassinated ten years earlier. Finally, penetrating into the valley of the Sous by way of the country of the Haha and subjugating the tribes frightened by his arrival, he seized the Chtouka from the country of the Ahel Sahel, defenders of the kings of the Tazerwalt, and after a stubborn resistance took the fortress of Illigh, which had been the center of the power of Sidi ᶜAli (1670-71) (1).

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1. De Chénier, Recherches historiques sur les Maures /Historical Research on the Moors/, Vol. III, Paris, 1787, pp. 355-356.

At the time of the arrival of the Filalian Makhzen /makhzan/, the South of the Sous had just known a period of prosperity. Since the death of his rival, Sidi Yahya Abou Zakarya, the grandson of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, Sidi ᶜAli, who was also called Abou Hassoun or again Sidi Boudmeia, had extended his dominion as far as the high valley of the Dra and of the Dadès; taking sovereign power, he had even put up the parasol, which had become the emblem of royal authority in the Maghreb. The happy memory of his reign, which lasted until 1660, is faithfully preserved in tradition; the country moreover was no longer to find again later such an era of riches.

At this time, as a matter of fact, when the commercial relations of the Sous with Marrakech and Fez were interrupted because of the insecurity, the caravans were heading toward Tombouctou /Timbuktu/ in order to transport there manufactured

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*175 objects from Europe and coming back loaded with gold powder and ivory from the Sudan (2).

2. Réponses à plusiers questions sur les États du Roy de Tafilelt /Answers to several questions on the States of the King of Tafilalet/, Paris, 1670, pp. 50-71.

We know from the sailors and Christian traders what attention Sidi ʿAli gave to maritime commerce. He had forbidden the use of Agadir, whose activity he could not control perfectly. Massat had become his port: "The traffic there is /100/ very good," a traveler tells us, "the more so as the Santon has assistance there so that, after having had his passport, the merchants can go ashore freely and carry their merchandise there, indeed display it there in tents, and this without any peril of slavery, for the said santon neither wishes nor permits one to make slaves other than the Spanish and those who also do it."

The Hollanders were then making great efforts to establish an important trade movement in this region and, to ingratiate themselves with Sidi ʿAli, were offering him, to the great scandal of the other sailors, munitions, arms, material for naval construction: "wood, carpenters, masts, oars, ready-made chains for chaining Christians." Admiral Ruyter, himself sent on a mission by the United Provinces, was received with consideration by the sons of Sidi ʿAli, without succeeding, however, in setting up profitable agreements with the country (1).

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1. De Castries, Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc /Unpublished Sources on the History of Morocco/, France, first series, Vol. III, p. 365; Pays-Bas /Low Countries/, Vol. V, pp. 571, 583, 614, 616, 627.

Concern for maintaining trade relations with the Moroccan ports of the insurgent provinces of the Empire was moreover, at

/100 cont./

*175 this epoch, the constant preoccupation of the Christian powers. This desire corresponded at the same time to the concern that the pretenders had for taking in fresh stores of war material. Moulay Rechid, at the outset, had welcomed in the same manner, with the greatest hopes, the mission of Roland Fréjus on the coasts of the Rif. More and more, European armaments were going to play their role in the internal affairs of the Sherifian Empire.

Under these conditions one understands that Moulay Rechid's primary concern was to put a stop to this traffic, dangerous for the security of the Empire, and to seize the Tazerwalt.

The success of Moulay Rechid in the Sous was facilitated moreover by the incapacity of the successors of Sidi ᶜAli, whose 22 sons and several brothers were making war on one another, taking by turns Taroudant, Ifran, Tagaost, Illigh, Agadir. The one of them who had won out, Abou ᶜAbdallah Mohammed, was poisoned in Fez; after this blow struck by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the marabouts of the Tazerwalt lost all political authority for 100 years (2).

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2. Ez Zaiani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Paris, 1886, Houdas trans., p. 22.

XI. The government of the Makhzen in the Sous under the Filalians. /101/ -- We have shown in the preceding pages what the agitated life of the Sous had been in the time of the greatest glory of the Mérinide dynasty; it is not without interest to compare with that picture the one of the reign of the greatest of the Filalian shorfa.

Upon the death of Moulay Rechid, killed by his horse in Marrakech in 1672 when he was receiving a deputation of the Sous tribes, Moulay Ismaᶜil, his brother, proclaimed sultan, succeeded in getting himself recognized only at the price of the greatest difficulties. His nephew, Ahmed Ben Mahrez, and the "moujahid" Ghilan, backed by the Turks, had themselves

/101 cont./

*175 proclaimed sovereigns. Ahmed ben Mahrez shut himself up in Marrakech, where the Sultan beseiged him for several years. New expeditions were undertaken among the Haha to raise large contributions and against the Chebbanat of the Atlas, of whom "a large number perished in the troubles." The Sultan had even advanced into the Sous as far as Aqqa, Tisint, and Chinguit, and had received the submission of the Arab tribes of the desert, but without succeeding in seizing Ahmed ben Mahrez.

As soon as the armies of Moulay Ismaʿil had left again on the eastern frontier of the Empire, the pretender reappeared in the Sous, which he organized from then on to his liking. He divided the country into two provinces, the one administered by Taroudant, the other by Illigh; then, having made an alliance with a sheik of his kingdom, whose daughter he had married, he took the title of king, and even tried, it is said, to conquer the Sudan (1).

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1. Chénier, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 398; Mouette, Histoire des conquestes de Mouley Archy /History of the conquests of Mulai Arshid/, Paris, 1683, p. 466.

His intrigues with the Turks soon made him, for Moulay Ismaʿil, a formidable rival. Attacked by the Sultan himself at Taroudant, Ahmed ben Mahrez resisted desperately. In order to put an end to murderous battles, the two adversaries concluded a truce of several years. But, in 1684, el Harran, brother of Moulay Ismaʿil, dismissed by him from the Tafilelt, fled to seek refuge with the king of the Sous. Having decided to finish it, the Sultan came back to besiege Taroudant. Ahmed ben Mahrez was killed before the town was taken, but the inhabitants were nonetheless exterminated and replaced with Riffians (1689).

Some years passed during which the Sous seemed to know a relative tranquillity. But the Sultan had numerous sons who, having scarcely come of age, tried to form a kingdom most quickly in the inaccessible regions. They /102/ preferably chose

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*175 the Sous as the theater of their exploits. In 1703 Mohammed el ᶜAlem, the Sultan's son, in residence at Taroudant with 3,000 horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/, revolts and enters Marrakech by storm; his brother Zidan comes to drive him out and pursues him in the mountains for three years. Mohammed el ᶜAlem, taken prisoner, loaded with chains, is led to his father, who cuts off one of his feet and a hand. Zidan succeeds his brother in Taroudant, after having once more exterminated the inhabitants of this rebel town.

Then come new pretenders: Moulay ben Saᶜid and another son of the Sultan, governor of Safi, who stirred up the Sous plain and the province of the Haha; they attack Moulay Zidan in Taroudant without success, and Moulay el Mamoun in the Tafilelt (1).

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1. Relation des trois voyages /Relation of the three journeys/, etc. of the Pères de la Mercy /Fathers of Mercy/, Paris, 1744, p. 148 and sqq.

Moulay Zidan is assassinated in 1708. Finally, in 1721 Moulay ᶜAbd el Malek, who resides in Taroudant and commands the part of the Sous near Agadir, refuses to pay to his father the tribute of the province. Besides, it seems as though the Sultan's old age is in itself the cause of a recrudescence of anarchy. Actually, although Moulay Ismaᶜil has manifested the intention of having his eldest son designated as successor, each of the heirs, sure of being assassinated when the latter takes power, tries to form a party so as to be able at least to try his luck on the day after the "siba."

When the old Sultan died, if one is to believe the historian minister Ez-Zayani, the country enjoyed the most complete security, and, according to the time-honored expression, a Jew or a woman could move about from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/ to Oudjda "without anyone's venturing to ask them where they

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*175 Haha, undertook in the name of the Sultan successful campaigns in the plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka; he subjugated and organized for several years the Ida ou Tanan, so rebellious against the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/, drove from Illigh the marabout Sidi /107/ Hachem, who had succeeded in giving back the Tazerwalt part of its glory again; Aghennaj even reached the Noun and crossed the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, where his memory has been preserved up to the present; along his route, the "agadirs" /storehouse-fortresses/ of the Berbères /Berbers/ were knocked down, while he built fortresses to shelter garrisons in the plain at Biougra and Tiznit (1).

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1. Justinard, Notes sur l'histoire du Sous /"Notes on the History of the Sous"/, Hespéris, 1925, p. 271; 1926, p. 351 and sqq.

But this work of twenty years was ephemeral; as soon as Aghennaj was dead, Sidi Hachem came back into his fortress and took back his mountain tribes, and it was at that time that there developed under his protection the great maraboutic fair of the Tazerwalt, the most important market in the South in the last century. In the subjugated plains, moreover, the attachment of the tribes to the Makhzen /makhzan/ remained uncertain. This can be judged by the instructions given by Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman to his vizier, the historian Akensous, sent on a mission to Taroudant. When the unfortunate affair of the Cherradi zaouia took place, this vizier, who was on a mission in Taroudant to re-establish order, received from his master instructions that suffice to show the weakness of the central power: "Leave everything in the state," it was said to him, "bring back with you the sheiks of the Sous, to whom you will promise our confidence and our support in all that they may ask of you" (2).

2. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. X, p. 91.

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*175 Aghennaj, all his authority over the Igezzoulen. Assassinated about 1830, in the middle of the moussem /festival/, the leader of the Tazerwalt has as successor his sons Sidi ᶜAli, then Sidi Hosein. The latter soon governs his little State with a prestige equal to that of his father (1).

1. Justinard, op. cit., Hespéris, 1926, p. 351 and sqq.

To the south of the Anti-Atlas, in the country of the Tekna Arabs, weakened remains of the Maᶜqil tribes, mixed with Berbères /Berbers/ and haraten /Haratin/, the ancient preponderance of the town of Tagaost on the Noun has been replaced by that of the qsar /fortified place/ of Goulimin /Goulimine/. A family of rich merchants, the Oulad Beirouk, have command there and monopolize the Saharan trade toward Tombouctou /Timbuktu/. We see then the Chérif /Sherif/ of the Tazerwalt and the Beirouk unite to try to obtain from the Christian nations, especially England and France, the creation of a commercial agency on their coast in order thus to be able to escape the economic control that the sherifian Makhzen /maxzan/ has maintained over these distant regions since the creation of the port of Mogador (2).

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2. Marty, Les Tribus de la Haute-Mauritanie /The Tribes of Upper Mauritania/, Paris, 1915, p. 72 and sqq.

The insurmountable difficulties of the bar /Fr. barre/ of the Ocean cause the project of the port of Assaka to be abandoned; later, the progress of French penetration in Senegal and the Sudan will lead to the disappearance of the caravan route from Goulimin /Goulimine/ to Tombouctou /Timbuktu/ and the commercial ruin of the markets of the Tazerwalt and the Noun.

/110/ XVI. The reign of Sidi Mohammed. -- The death of Sultan Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman, the embarrassments of the Tetouan war, and famine cause a "siba" of five years in the western

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*175 Empire. The Christian powers, who knew the weakness of sherifian authority on the Atlantic confines of the Dra, had the ambition to establish themselves on the coast of the Noun or of Mauritania by founding commercial settlements there. Spain, especially, was trying to occupy a point on the coast of the Sbouya, Ifni, which a reconnaissance mission had /112/ identified arbitrarily with Santa Cruz de Mar Pequena, where the inhabitants of the Canaries had possessed an ephemeral establishment four centuries before; it was pressing the sherifian government to carry out the clause of the treaty concluded at Tétouan in 1860, which granted it fishing grounds in that region. At the same time an English trader, Mackensie, had founded a prosperous branch at Tarfaya near Cape Juby without any authorization, while another establishment arose at Areksis among the Aït Ba'Amran, on the initiative of another Englishman, James Curtis. The latter had even made an agreement with the sheiks of the Aït Ba'Amran and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt with a view toward establishing a port.

The objections addressed by the Sultan to Great Britain having had no effect, one might fear that the Far South was on the point of definitely shaking off the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even falling into the power of the Christians. Moulay el Hasan decided to re-establish sherifian power there and at the same time to destroy the political power of the religious leaders of the Tazerwalt (1).

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1. Cf. especially Erckmann, Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, Paris, 1885, passim; Geranton, Expédition de Moulay el Hasan dans le Sous /"Moulay el Hasan's Expedition into the Sous"/ (Revue de l'Afrique française. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, September, 1924).

An army of 40,000 men was assembled in the Sous plain and at Tiznit; but the considerable difficulties of reprovisioning in a land of limited resources did not permit advancing to Goulimin.

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*634 always in a latent state there, and, in case of a quarrel, it proves
[721] to be very violent" (1).
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1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909, p. 419.

Such are the Aït Gaïr, the Seksawa, and the little islet of unyielding dissidents of the Ida Ou Tanan; but those are, the comrades of the kaids tell us, "thieves, highway-cutters, or shepherds," of whom each speaks only with scorn. There still exist
*631 among these backward populations some minor independent chiefs who lack only the acknowledgment of the Makhzen /makhzan/. In spite of the appearances of anarchy, if our informants are to be believed, they make the political advice received from Tagontaft, Bouaboud, or some other casbah at the foot of the mountains respected as far as these inaccessible summits.

[648] Thus, the system of great commands under the nominal authority of the Sultan has now been imposed on these tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ whose history has shown us such frequent revolts in the course of the centuries. In our day the Berbère /Berber/ lords dominate the whole country. No problem is posed that they cannot solve; they are, officially at least, the sole source of authority; the maintenance of order, the carrying out of our instructions are guaranteed by them, and they make peace and security prevail everywhere.

121 III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- Now
*631 let us try to free ourselves from our escort of retainers, who are
*634 too devoted to the powerful kaids of the South, in order to discover better the true state of the institutions; it has sufficed for us to perceive, at least by its external aspects, the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or that of the chiefs who exercise authority over the tribes in the name of the Sultan; but we already know that the attention of our guides is not carried /128/ willingly over to the social and political life of the small groups remaining independent at the border of the great commands. On the other hand, the study of these lost cantons tempts us, since from this

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621 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert"
613 (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ᶜadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a
[103] separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iᶜaisaten, the sons of ᶜAïsa; Taourirt n Aït lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like
632 the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "mouda" (3)

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3. From the Arabic "mouda", " place. Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this group ("Organisation sociale et domestique

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/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfrac-
632 tion. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask
[346] for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the
[343] regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and es-
[623] pecially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" pos-
621 sesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands,
632 its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for
423 heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-
[609] goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

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*634 166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

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1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 184 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou [619] Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The [131] boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all *634 of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, 184 local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollec- 174 tion of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ ap- 178 proximately (1)

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

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/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

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More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

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The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

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of the same country, as Doutté observed as early as 1904 (2).

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, 1905.

the "khoms" is only an administrative division that one might believe at first sight had been established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for the sole purpose of collecting contributions; in the south of the confederation, on the contrary, where the ancient institutions have not yet entirely disappeared, the "khoms," which also takes the name of "afous," has preserved a life of its own, which has been manifest until these last years. Among the Aït ʿAissi, the Ida Ou Bouzia, the Aït ʿAmer, in fact, the council of notables of the "khoms" has kept some importance up to the present, and in the course of the "siba" /revolt/ at the end of the century it still constituted the little parliament of a minuscule autonomous state, similar to the ones that exist around the Tichka.

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One would observe without difficulty in the territory of the Aït Waouzgit, in the high valley of the Sous and around the massif of the Sirwa, as well as on the plateau of the Isouktan, the same state of cellular division. /156/ It is all the more marked in this region that the cantons hardly unite to form tribes and that each of them had preserved complete political liberty with respect to its neighbors up to the time of the defeat of the Glawa between 1913 and 1917.

The group of the tribes of the Anti-Atlas likewise offers us an organization identical with that of the mountains of the Masmouda.

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In the country of the Chtouka, first of all, one finds in the plain or on the first slopes of the mountains some 20 dispersed cantons without any bond among them other than that of a very confused historical unity, and such as the memory of a common role in the struggle against the Igezzoulen. Each of them groups

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/footnote 1 continued/ picture the divisions of the tribes in the form of a genealogical tree. The divisions of the present-day groups of the populations generally constitute, not branches issuing from the same trunk, but grafts supported on a primitive stalk that it has sometimes become impossible to discern." (Doutté, "Figuig /a Saharan oasis/." Notes et Impression. -- La géographie, 1903, Vol. IV, p. 186.)

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619 The existence of a common territory, which figures as the historical heritage of a group of fractions whose unity has perhaps /161/ been greater in former times than in our day, is sometimes regarded by the members of the tribe as the strongest bond by which they are united. Possession of soil with well-delineated borders then takes on greater importance than belief in the existence of a common ancestor. Thus a man from the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, whose geographical limits are very precise, questioned about the origins of his tribe and the personality of this Mhamoud who gave it this name, answers: "We are of the Aït Tounert. That is the name of our 'taqbilt'; Ida Ou Mhamoud is only the name of our country" (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

In the same way, in the Anti-Atlas, a Tamli, of the Ammeln tribe, tells us: "The Ammeln do not form a tribe, but they are people who possess a country whose limits are marked by mountains. And in this country one finds seven small tribes." These "small tribes" of the Ammeln are precisely what we have called "taqbilt" or cantons.

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But very often also the borders are poorly defined and it seems that they have varied in the course of the centuries. In the region of the Tichka, certain tribes like the Demsira or Mesgina, which were represented to us as early as the twelfth

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*631 174 171 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of their ethnic unity (1).

1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 [726] Such are the Aït ʿAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These [178] [666] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of * [634] [616] sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions opposed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

• [113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 174 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

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*634 XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- Thus the cell of the Berbère /Berber/ society of the Sous is, at least in our day, an elementary state larger than the village, smaller than the tribe, and we shall later see the importance of this minuscule unit confirmed in the course of our investigation of the circumstances in which the chiefs rise and grow.

*634 *631 171 But it is not only in this province of the Sous, where it has been possible for us to multiply our investigations, that one observes the role played in local life by these small cantons that absorb /171/ the greatest part of the political activity of the country. It is the same in the various parts of the north of Africa peopled with sedentary Berbères /Berbers/. Without trying here to redo the study of the social morphology of these regions, we believe it necessary to indicate in broad features how, under aspects sometimes a little different, the same cellular structure that we discover in the Moroccan South can be found among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the Moroccan North, in the Rif, and in Kabylie /Kabylia/; it will most often suffice for us to tell how certain of the observations already made by our predecessors agree exactly with the ones that we have been able to make in the Sous and the Anti-Atlas so that the profound unity of social structure of all Berbérie /Barbary/ may appear.

000 The land of the Jbala presents many analogies with the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/; the one as well as the other border the plains held by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for a long time, and in both countries the mountain tribes apply themselves with all their strength to preserving their independence.

M. Michaux-Bellaire, who was studying this region in 1911, at the time when it was living in a state of complete liberty, distinguished, as we have done in the Moroccan South, several superposed organisms: the village, the "khoms," and the tribe (1).

1. Michaux Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," Archives marocaines, Vol. XVII, p. 43.

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000 What could have contributed to making the idea of the preponderance of the village over the ᶜarch accepted is the rapid decline into which the ᶜarch quickly fell as a result of the submission of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ to France. This union of villages, this putting in common a territory whose defense was assured had interest only in a country often disturbed by war. Peace was to suffice to weaken the bond established among the "taddert" to constitute autonomous states. We see the same in Morocco, in the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the "khoms" of the Haha loses its importance little by little, and local life takes refuge in the narrower limits of the "mouda^{c}" (2).

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2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Revue de l'Afrique française 1905; rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

The constitution in Kabylie /Kabylia/ of new administrative units under French domination, known under the name of douars and whose boundaries, sometimes arbitrary, broke the ancient cadre of the "ᶜarch," clearly contributed to it. Since, on the other hand, the Kabyle villages already had great activity, one easily has the explanation that the "taddert" may appear in our day after the effacement of the "ᶜarch," with its minuscule territory and its still active jemaᶜa, as the only natural social unit remaining alive in Kabyle country.

The alliance of several "ᶜarch" formed a "qebila," tribe or confederation. But the institutions of these larger groups became less and less precise, and the bonds that united their parts appeared only quite rarely, during important wars. One might repeat for these "qebila" of the Djurjura what the study of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Rif enabled us to say for the confederations. Even greater masses of populations were uniting, in urgent circumstances, but, in order to assemble them, the instinct for defense against the foreigner or the firm hand of a powerful chief

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*634 616 Nefis, we have been able to study the interplay of the leffs at the time when this part of the mountains had still preserved its independent institutions (1).

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1. Cf. Hespéris, 1927, first quarter, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/."

The interplay of the alliances dominated all political life in this high-mountain region. Was a canton threatened by its neighbors after a dispute or a murder that the "moqaddems," presidents of the small assemblies of notables, would not or could not settle according to custom? Each one then appealed to its leff by making the "tamatart," alarm signal by gunshots spaced at known intervals. In a few hours the neighboring republics were assembling their warriors, who were coming to "fill" the territory of their "brothers." Most often the moqaddems of the fractions outside the discord came to hear and to settle the affair; otherwise war was ignited on all the frontiers of the little states, combats more noisy than deadly, in which each one waited, hidden behind a rock, for his enemy to show his head, and did not go back into his house until he had exhausted, without result, his supply of powder and bullets.

616 629 Sometimes, too, the leffs were a means of internal pacification. When private wars used to break out in the villages and the moqaddems were powerless to impose their authority, they had the alarm given on the hills that dominated the friendly cantons; one then saw in the twinkling of an eye 50 armed men on foot, coming from nearby valleys, descend the steep slopes, occupy the houses of the fomenters of disorder, and restore peace by force.

*634 616 571 [574] The cantons of the same leff owed one another aid and assistance in all circumstances, but those were general obligations whose cult it was important to maintain by renewing through individual alliances cordial relations with the neighboring republics. The festivals of hospitality, the "tinoubga," whose importance we

/187 cont./

*634 616 57 [574] shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow according to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the request thus expressed. [754] Another means of establishing a particularly solemn "far" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the following: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the place of combat.

*634 616 726 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa. If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still remained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113] 1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/200 cont./

174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

•[113]

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or
[616] precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/201 cont./
616 with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).
114
*634
• [113]

1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by C^t Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous ... /Notes on the History of the Sous .../," Hespéris, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Aït Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

101 We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential
616 aspects.
619 Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

595 [539] /218 cont./
eat your harvests (1)!"

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as
613 long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group, the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

621 [613] Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/221 cont./
*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

•[113] 2. The term "Bou l arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is unknown. In our time the Aït Arbaᶜin are not 40, but, in the western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the representatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per fraction, were designated this way (3).

[178] [174]

[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "rebaᶜ," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

*634 802 174 The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their movement, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

*634 184 III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south versant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arbaᶜin" is generally

*634 184 /222 cont./ replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anflous."

*634 174 789 Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "anflous" (1)

> 1. Anflous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I, p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anflous."

[113] appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2),

> 2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

it is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anflous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas lbaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success. Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and [184] one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the *[631] porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in [619] the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3),

[113] 3. Cf. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

/251 cont./

443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/ [462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions, They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

• [113]

1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

/255 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "ʿOmmal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/259 cont./

343 178 184 361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Imaᶜizen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Aït ᶜAli), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Belaᶜid).

• [113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIᵉ siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

[648] The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/305 cont./

175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
[616] mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived
in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the
marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[729] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the
Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on
the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable
strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
648 ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
*631 success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marra-
kech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of
the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the
intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the
protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of
the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded
in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his
part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar
Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ (1).

• [113]

1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/306 cont./

*634 616 121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113]

2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 159 *634 726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/323 cont./

*634 554 leaders coming from the tribes, thanks to the war of soffs and of leffs, with the king-priests of the Orient or even with the king-sorcerers of Black Africa.

*634 554 178 791 Has it always been so? The amghar, when he becomes absolute master of an independent tribe in our day, is very close to deserving the name "agellid." In other times, in the same regions, chiefs have not feared to claim this title when the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was on the decline or they felt themselves strong enough (1).

1. Cf. Book I, Ch. III, pp. 87, 100.

Now, popular tales, even history, sometimes seem to give out that these Berbère /Berber/ kings formerly could have a claim other than their strength to the respect of their subjects: magicians as much as warriors, they would then have been the legitimate successors of the agrarian kings, as the tribal inflas can be such of the porte-bonheur (2).

• [113]

2. Laoust, Manuel de berbère marocain /Manual of Moroccan Berber/, Paris, 1921, p. 252. Sidi Saïd, legend of the Sous: "They say that there was a king (Jew) who was a magician." The kings of the Ghomara and of the Berghouata have been magicians and false prophets. On the agrarian kings: Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, p. 315.

But in our day the thread of that tradition has been broken twice and the era of magic royalty is doubly finished; first of all, the Sultan took the name of agellid for himself in Berbère /Berber/ country, and the other chiefs, kaids, sheiks, amghars, appear to the tribes as actual or possible agents of the sovereign, intent on making the ancient traditions disappear and above all occupied with collecting the tax and the "frida"; the happy time

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazer alt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

•[413] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 791 792 554 [224] [541] /<u>324 cont.</u>/ great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is, moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away into paradise.

[681] Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these marabouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

•[113] 2. <u>Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat</u> /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 792 554 648 *[634] Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive. It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many independent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /<u>325</u>/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 178 648 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost, one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

/329 cont./

In the reign of Moulay 'Abd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed el Mezwari had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagontaft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords, who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above, p. 115.

The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah, patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère /Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala, fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233 (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin, "Maqsad," Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI, p. 92).

The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his canton after a soff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed, who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took back, with the aid of some families of the Ouneila, the authority that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa "khoms" belonging to his leff of the "Inemzel," which is also called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the leff of the "Ait Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

/359 cont./

*631 174 171 acquisition -- so rapid, it is true -- of immense properties by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs, on which they establish hundreds of slaves in a few years or preserve the former masters of the land who in appearance have become similar to serfs, can again suggest another comparison. Is this not the image of the domains of the Merovingian epoch upon which, by slow evolution, the lords of the upper Middle Ages could grow in importance? A replica of the very certificate of immunity can be found in the letters of fictive command awarded by certain chiefs, the Mtouggi, for example, to the companions who have served him faithfully, so that they can escape, with all the members of their family, from the common rules of justice or of taxes (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 451.

*631 565 174 171 Finally, we observe here, as in the West, the development of an aristocratic class, if it is permissible to use this expression in speaking of the parvenu sons of the amghars, and the ruin of the lower classes is precipitated at the same time that public authority is weakened: those are, as has long been said, the general conditions for the appearance of a feudality (2).

[113]

2. Compare Fustel de Coulanges: Origines du système féodal /Origins of the Feudal System/, p. 294 and sqq., p. 415; L'alleu et le domaine rural /The Alodium and the Rural Domain/, pp. 374-382.

Nevertheless it would be imprudent to rest content with these similitudes:

*631 174 171 /360/ One barbarism always resembles another barbarism, said Doutté in describing the aspect of the South of Morocco, and it is not enough that "a chief live in a castle, have pages, and hunt with falcons," that peasants prostrate themselves upon his passing or that he administer justice on the threshold of his

/378 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aît Arba^{c}in in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jema^{c}a" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

/378 cont./
modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).

3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new fractioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, diminishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jemaᶜa" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

/387 cont./

178 669 * 631 * 634 of Aït Arbaᶜin and enact a scale of fines, but they are no longer capable of designating a president; on the Dir or in the plains it is the sheiks themselves who make up the tribal council, each canton having lost the recollection of its political personality; they are content to put the sedition-mongers in a hole, without restoring the regulation that punishes each offense with a specific fine; their concern moreover is to keep the common people away, and they dream above all of the ways that will permit them to obtain the kaid's place by intrigue as soon as the revolt has ended. It sometimes happens that the makhzen chief has governed his tribe with moderation, and no serious reason for expulsion is raised against him; then a place in the council is left for him, but only in the capacity of notable: "You will be our anflous porte-bonheur," they said, at the time of the siba of Sidi Mohammed, to the old kaid of the Mzouda, whom they did not want to drive out of his house. The popular movement, which won over the whole country during the "siba," took on such force that the Berbère /Berber/ mind had to be given this satisfaction of principle in order to succeed in keeping a beloved leader (1).

• [113]

1. Cf. our study on "Le Régime juridique du Sud-Marocain /The Juridical Regime of the Moroccan South/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 323.

* 631 * 634 648 669 178 [616] Cantons and tribes left to themselves, incapable of re-establishing in all their strength the institutions that they abandoned long ago, soon fall into frightful anarchy. The enthusiasm of the first days is succeeded by the weariness of disorder in proportion as the struggles of soffs, the combats of cantons that unite again to form war alliances analogous /388/ to the leffs of old, are repeated. Then the Sultan takes back his authority, the kaids reappear in the plains, harkas are formed to re-establish the banished chiefs in their command on the Dir; little by little people lose confidence in the tribe; the Aït Arbaᶜin are abandoned and betrayed; the Makhzen puts them in prison; and without too much regret the Berbères /Berbers/ again assume the heavy collar

2: Montagne--539 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

• [113]

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[648] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

343 The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
712 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
178 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
621 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

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